Fellowship

• • *April* 1948 • Vol. XIV—No. 4 • 20 cents a copy—$2.00 a year
In Two Sections—Section One

How to endure, when all around us die
Nations and gracious cities, homes and men,
And the sweet earth is made a filthy den
Beneath whose roof black, belching vultures fly:
How to endure the darkness, when the sky
Is totally eclipsed by evil, when
Foul grinning Chaos spreads its reign again
And all good things in senseless ruin lie.
Must we be hard as stone? It wears to dust.
As stiff as oaks? But they untimely break.
As pitiless as steel? It turns to rust,
And Time from Pyramids will ruins make.
In violence, decay, starvation, need,
What can endure? Only the living Seed.

—Kenneth Boulding,
There Is A Spirit

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PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

The Outcasts, by E. S. P. Rawstron

Gandhi and India, by Horace Alexander

Cooperation and Peace, by E. R. Bowen

Creed or Cult? by Milton Mayer

THIS MONTH

WHEN a group of British pacifists launched a new magazine two years ago it offered, among other inducements, "life" subscriptions—"for the life of the subscriber or the journal, whichever is the shorter." It is to be hoped that the subscribers survived the journal, for it expired in a few months. In the short time that *Values* walked this mortal coil, however, it gave its readers some heady fare, of which E. S. P. Rawstron's *The Outcasts,* reprinted in this issue of FELLOWSHIP is one of the best examples. The good die young altogether too often. . . . On top of the Ides of March and their income-tax blues comes Milton Mayer again, continuing to make the taxpayer's lot a hard one with his penetrating *Creed or Cult?* . . . Starting this month, we bring you quarterly the valuable research surveys of the Pacifist Research Bureau . . . and much else besides.

NEXT MONTH

The rapidly deteriorating international situation gets a going-over from A. J. Muste, with a special look at Czechoslovakia, Finland and Italy. . . . The Socialists, champing at the bit after Jim Peck's cavalier dismissal of their case last month, have their innings when Donald Harrington, John Haynes Holmes' associate at Community Church, writes *Pacifists Should Vote Socialist* . . . and there'll be more too.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

April, 1948 Section One Vol. XIV—No. 4

Subheads

Pot and Kettle

In the war trials of several Japanese generals who had participated in the bombing of Chinese cities, the American government, according to the United Press, "took the view that any general bombing of extensive areas wherein resides a large population engaged in peaceful pursuits, is unwarranted and contrary to the principles of law and humanity." The trials were held just two years and three months after the humane and lawful bombing of Hiroshima.

Panic

As we write this—a month before you read—the word from Washington is of virtual panic among many of the officials there. With the yielding of Czechoslovakia and the impending submission of Finland, Congressmen and high brass talk of war—not a sometime-war, or a possible-war, but a now-war, now and practically unavoidable. Cradled in the restricted world of politics, where states take on the semblance of reality and people and suffering become shadowy statistics, they can talk of a now-war as though it were possible, as though on any level, even the most debased, something might be improved by another war.

We sit strictly among the minor prophets, but for what it is worth, we do not think war is imminent: not shooting war, that is. Not now or for several years to come. Unless all the factual evidence is a mountain of lie upon lie, Russia is physically unable to wage war now, excepting only a defense of desperation on her own soil. That is a debased way of thinking, but thinking of war in these days can only be in debased terms, and it means at least that war is not imminent unless America begins it. There are many Americans, especially in Washington, who would advocate just this, but they are still in a minority.

But meanwhile the path is staked out ever more certainly. How much of the current hysteria has been manufactured specifically to put across UMT, and how much is the inevitable process of finally scaring yourself with the bogy you have invented to scare others, we cannot tell. But the proponents of UMT are—is jubilant the word?—and the men in Congress who have op-

posed it are wobbling. If it passes in this surge of new excitement, then another stake will have been hammered in, and the war that is not likely now becomes more certain later on.

Preparedness

The fallacy of the insidious doctrine that you can preserve peace by preparing for war and scaring the enemy into being good, is revealed clearly in these crises that tread so furiously on one another's heels these days. No one doubts that the United States today is vastly stronger than the Soviet Union. Its possession of the atom bomb alone would be conclusive.

By the theory, such superiority should make peace secure, but it does not. It does not frighten the "enemy" into being good, but only into more bellicose attempts to frighten *us* into being "good." It makes generals and congressmen and plain citizens want to use their atom bombs and heavy bombers now, before the superiority is gone, before the imagined threat becomes real. And does anyone seriously suppose that there will ever be a security based on military might that will be any less insecure, no matter how hedged about with conscripted youth, and guided missiles, and little vials of germs? For each further descent we make into the abyss of degradation spurs our fear that others may be as conscienceless as we, and perhaps even smarter, so that our own craven pursuit of survival at any cost eventually lands us right in the arms of the grinning spectre of apocalypse.

The only security there is in our day is a fearless good will, and the faith it inspires that other men can behave as nobly as we.

Substitution

A young couple we know who listen regularly to WQXR, New York's radio sanctuary for music-loving fugitives from quiz programs, got sick of hearing the day's closing hour of symphony finished off with a rousing recorded version of the Star Spangled Banner. Moved by a mixture of esthetic and anti-jingoistic feelings, they wrote their objections to the station. They had a prompt reply from the management, which confided its own misgivings about the same matter and its decision to make a change at once. The change was made, too. Now the symphonies are wrapped up for the night in the strains of America the Beautiful and the Star Spangled Banner begins the day's program.

Deep Freeze

The British Navy is planning to send a new style submarine, manned by 61 men, to lie submerged under the Arctic icepack for a month. Asked the purpose, the navy reported, deadpan: "To test what life in a submarine long submerged in low temperature waters is like."

This is the kind of thing armies and navies love to do, and we'll bet the American Navy is frothing at the mouth for not having thought of the idea first. To prevent any future similar blow to our national pride, we present here, without charge, a couple of other possibilities for experimentation. These are only the rough ideas, of course, and would have to be worked out in more detail by the experts:

1. Construct a large tank, heated by oil furnaces, in which a newer style submarine, manned by 62 men, could be submerged. Purpose:

o test what life in a submarine ubmerged in high temperature water is like. Secondary purpose: o deplete still further the world's il supply, thus making it increasngly important to have more naval hips to guard American oil interests in the Near East.

2. Station a squadron of ships in he Arctic as nearly as possible on direct line from Russia. These hips would be manned by sending o them every public official who alks about the inevitability or likelihood of war with Russia, the desirability of forming an armed alliance against Russia, or the practicability of assuring world peace by arming to the teeth.

Modern Warfare: Cavalry Division

The War Department, according to *PM's* Washington correspondent I. F. Stone, last year refused a State Department request that it return as "an act of good will" 105 highbred Hungarian horses captured during the war. The War Department argued that such an act would be against the military interests of the U. S., since Hungary is Soviet-dominated and the horses might find their way into the Russian cavalry.

Apology

The paragraph in the January issue about Mr. Truman and Roger Axford, which came by way of what we thought was "unimpeachable authority," turns out not to be an accurate report, and we herewith tender Mr. Truman our apologies. It wasn't the kind of story we should have printed anyway, and we're sorry about that, too.

Religion in the Senate: Divine Guidance Division

Senator Wiley (Rep., Wisconsin): "We must pray for divine guidance and direction for our faltering steps and those of other nations. . . . We must make sure, too, that we are adequately prepared with modern instruments of warfare for any eventuality of the atomic age."

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Turkey has asked for fewer guns and more butter. Complaining that American aid was 95 percent military, the Turkish government says that this places too great a strain on the country's economy. They would like some help in building new roads and railroads, and in developing the country's natural resources.

* * *

A new Navy rocket hit 3,000 miles per hour the other day while soaring to a height of 78 miles. While this is still short of the 3,500-mile speed and 114-mile height reached by captured German V-2s, it's still a good answer to the scoffer who thinks push-button war is strictly comic-strip stuff.

* * *

An engagement for Muriel Lester to speak before a public affairs program in California had to be cancelled because of a state law that forbids the use of aliens in such circumstances unless they have taken out their first papers of application for citizenship.

INFLATION IS HELD
STILL A PROBLEM
—Headline in the *New York Times*, March 7, 1948.

Oh go on!

MONSTERS OF PARADOX AND TYRANTS OF PERVERSITY, THESE ARE—

The Outcasts

By E. S. P. RAWSTRON

AS MY FRIENDS have a habit of seeking my opinions and taking little or no notice of them, it was quite in order (and altogether safe) when someone wrote to me recently and asked cheerfully whether I thought the conception of "natural law" or anything like it, was capable of being employed in the reconstruction of our society.

No apology being expected or given, I gently unfurled my literary sails and stood out to sea on a routine voyage of philosophical piracy and pseudo-intellectual discovery. For I am by no means a thinker, but only a simple artist who wanders amiably from one Labor Exchange to another asking in a timid voice whether I'm still forced to be free, or whether I'm now free to be forced—or whether it doesn't matter very much, so long as I fill in a form and move on to another department.

So I wrote to my inquiring friend, and said:

I scarcely see that this "natural law" business you're on about can do very much for us, if by "us" is meant struggling mankind as a whole. The attempt to impose, through the medium of education, books, and propaganda generally, anything like a genuine conception of natural law, might even so far defeat its own purpose as to lead to God-knows-what extremes of arbitrary thought and conduct within the space of a single generation. After all, when action is novel, reaction is proportionately swift and drastic.

Consider the reception which mankind has given to the tiny handful of men in history who have tried to preach and practice natural law—I make no attempt to define natural law, as my interpretation of it can well be left to make itself clear in the course of my remarks. Without naming any particular historical figures, we may as

THE AUTHOR

Edward Rawstron is a member of the Peace Pledge Union in England, a former freelance journalist who—CPS men will feel a kinship—spent two years during the war growing vegetables, and three years working in a mental hospital. He prefers, he says, lunatics to vegetables. He considers pacifism to be only a corollary of the anarchist position. The Outcasts *is reprinted from the April-June, 1947, issue of* Values, *by permission of the editor and author.*

well call them the wise men, for in a real sense they are nothing less. They are the men whose design for living has had its roots outside geographical frontiers and calendar dates, the men whose moral sensibilities and spiritual intuitions have been too strong to allow of a purely historical explanation. How has the world responded to these people? First with astonishment and ridicule, then with hostility, and finally, in obstinate cases, with despair. The wise men have seemed monsters of paradox and tyrants of perversity, beckoning mankind with one hand and turning it away with the other.

On reflection, perhaps it's scarcely fair to call them the wise men. Scarcely fair to them, that is. After what they have suffered, they deserve a more melancholy title. Shall we call them "the outcasts"?

The Outcasts Classified

But for the fact, then, that historians are no more discerning than other men, the struggles of these outcasts against the laws and precepts of stumbling mankind, against the sacred canons of majorities and minorities alike, would make familiar reading by now. But no one has thought to classify behavior of such a quizzical and intractable nature. Allow me, therefore, to commend a few specimens of it, tinting the picture in the shades it generally assumes for the man in the street, who, now as always, is the unhappy victim of color-blindness where his potential saviors are concerned.

Now, suppose the world is in a crisis and finds itself faced with two courses, the one bad and the other worse—how do the outcasts behave? Invariably, they insist on choosing a third course which is altogether impossible, thus weakening the heroic defenders of the lesser evil until all is lost to the Powers of Darkness.

If questioned about justice, the outcasts declare in favor of it. Yet, for some reason, they are offended at even the most careful dispensation of due reward and punishment, irrationally preferring an evidently sentimental course of inordinate compassion. When, however, others show a little harmless sentimentality and wave flags, or speak warmly of their only true love, the outcasts smile wistfully and become noncommittal, chill, or even icy.

If the world is tottering in its paces and heading for the precipice of untold disaster, the outcasts proclaim a quiet faith in the survival of sanity and the resurrection of virtue. But when men rejoice at some brave new dawn which heralds an era of true happiness and prosperity, the outcasts become skeptical and wag their heads knowingly.

The outcasts make a show of despising prejudice; yet they refuse to put their faith in objective logic, and they have been known to stand unimpressed by the most searching evidence.

When the rulers of states think of some noble act and promise to put it into force tomorrow, but say that today the hour is not ripe, the outcasts ask plaintively: "Why not today? Tomorrow never comes." Yet when the same rulers fashion a sweeping plan to change the whole world for the better and build its very foundations anew, and swear to apply this plan today, the outcasts are appalled, and say that this is far too drastic, and remind the nations that history is

long and there is time for all things.

Should the world at any time rally round the outcasts as must occasionally happen, setting them up as leaders and forging a movement to fulfil their singular counsel, the outcasts soon break the hearts of their brave followers by resigning their leadership. Yet when at some other time the nations come to the outcasts and complain, "The counsels of you false prophets get us nowhere," the accused have the brazen effrontery to reply, "Have you ever been willing to follow us, brethren, even for one mile?"

They Speak of Love

The outcasts speak of love as the noblest of the virtues, and say that no one can love too much. Yet should any man work himself to the bone all his days for those near and dear to him, and pine in loyal and unutterable grief when the beloved are taken away, the outcasts pronounce that this man has sinned by obsessive attachment, by forgetfulness of the spirit of universal love, and by neglect of the communion of God.

The loftiest facet of man, say the outcasts, the cultivation of which is the proper end of all his travail, is the spirit within him. But when they are asked to explain what this spirit within him might be, they have scarcely words to say, yet show no embarrassment at the hypocrisy and ignorance implied by their silence.

The outcasts, truly, have sometimes been known to answer questions more generously. Their answers, however, have turned out little better than a series of further questions. Thus, an earnest young man recently asked a celebrated old outcast which it was better to be, a fool or a knave. The reply was prompt: "It is better to be a wise man, for a fool and a knave are but one and the same stray sheep. A fool, by reason of his lack of wisdom, must fall short of the good life and thus practice much knavery; while a knave, because he must face retribution in this world or the next, courts disaster and is thus a fool. Yet this is not true either. Wherefore return to thy bedchamber, my son, and ponder rightly in thine heart. And think not that this conundrum is to be answered easily, even by prayer, for you must know that in our time the wit of God is censored and His mercies rationed, for thus it is written in the Book of Democracy.'"

And so is the world wounded and made dizzy by these men who are cast out, because the nations will not take them in—indeed, cannot take them in.

The moral of all this is that the teaching of the outcasts is a little more than the majority of mankind can promise to absorb. Such a philosophy—and here I am not spinning words merely—is at once too cunning and too forthright, too puritanical and too lenient, too skeptical and too faithful, too cold and too passionate, too funny and too sad. Flexible though it may be (has to be) such an approach to life comprises the only natural law. For, like the physical universe, it is based on paradox—not on a specific paradox, but on an all-pervading one which shall be nameless. Or on a fundamental dialectic, if you like.

But paradox, and dialectic, alas, are the very phenomena which the mass of people can least contrive to understand or bear to obey.

That mankind requires some sort of agreed moral framework, some talisman of conscience, is probably true. But this moral framework is not for a thousand years going to be consistent with natural law, but only with a convenient arbitrary code; and it may not even be convenient, in which case the integration arrived at will be a trifle short-lived. In sum, natural law is for the few, and an arbitrary code is for the many, for they will not at present understand anything more.

But it might be worth exploring in ampler terms what I plaintively stated at the beginning, about the danger of asking more of human nature than it can do, of using the torch of progress to light the bonfire of reaction.

A Mournful Vacuum

Suppose, then, a large-scale attempt were made, by men who could practice what they preached, to educate the masses to the level of natural law. It would probably merely dissolve away the prevailing beliefs and current code of morality (in so far as there is one) to leave a mournful vacuum behind. Don't the people habitually complain, when by some unhappy accident they stumble on a book or a speech delivered by an outcast, that the preacher takes all their beliefs away and gives them nothing in their place? Of course, destructive criticism being somewhat easier and more spicy than constructive synthesis, a bias in favor of criticism is a temptation to which even a puritanical outcast may stumble at times. But mostly speaking, the vacuum which spreads relentlessly around the person of an outcast is caused, not by any fault of his own, but by the inability of his public to receive and absorb what he is offering in return for his annihilating thefts. A concentrated and organized assault by the outcasts, therefore (assuming the outcasts would agree to anything so vulgar as concentration and organization) making full use of all the available machinery of propaganda, would create a vacuum so intense that the world would be peculiarly ripe for the inrush of some new oversimplification of reality, some hellish cut-and-dried fanaticism.

Outlook Not of Despair

Yet the outlook, as I see it, is not one of despair. One arbitrary code is not as bad as another. When forces combine to bring on a period of major disintegration, such as we are faced with at present (even without an organized attack by the outcasts) we have a special opportunity for making a bold jump forward and establishing the next transitory code in distinctly better tradition than the last one—for we are not yet so lost in a vacuum that fanaticism is the only answer. It is conceivable, therefore, that our next code would stand three or four rungs higher on the ladder that leads to the noble and infinitely lofty rampart of perfect natural law. If this sounds lyrical, remember it still does not promise a reconciliation between the masses (no class reference here) and the outcasts higher up the ladder. For, obviously, the outcasts can climb yet nearer to the sublime heights of perfect natural law, according as the people below threaten to catch up. So that, comparatively speaking, the multitude will always be wallowing and blowing bubbles in the stinking mire of an arbitrary code.

But perhaps the whole situation is better than that. It may be a blessing in disguise. After all, if there could have been any useful purpose in trying to initiate the nations into the paths of natural law, the outcasts would have bungled it from the start. They would never have agreed upon what to teach. Being all of them wise, they have much to unite them; but being all of them original, they have much more to divide them. Disquisition and dispute upon belief and morality are usually keenest precisely where most progress has been made and the widest common foundation established. I have always felt it to be a provoking trump card in the hand of God that those mortals who learn the most are the least satisfied with their knowledge, and those who see the furthest the least content with their horizon.

* * *

All this is very improper (even for a bourgeois like myself) in a world in which Marxists have enlightened us with the discovery that real wisdom lies locked in the bosom of the proletariat, that true art is art which can be understood by the multitude, and that the working classes do not smell. It may be, on the other hand, that the very impropriety of my opinions in the eyes of the elect reformers of our time is an endorsement of my fond suspicion that my findings are essentially true.

But stop! I don't mean fond suspicion, do I? I know very well it is a sad suspicion. For there is pain in this sparring, in this thrusting into the sensitive flesh of common-sense and ordered convention. Where, may I ask, should a man turn for peace and congruity of fellowship? If he should say he is cast out, then maybe he is presumptuous and imagines a vain thing. But if he should say he is taken in, then is he wittingly deceived and plunged into the stinking mire. So the mocking wind of the mind plays havoc with the bright enterprise of the heart, with the warm craving of the Self.

> To die is better than to live;
> For then in sleep profound
> I shall not dream.
> I shall not wake to know the mocking wind
> Has blown the night long through my door unlatched,
> Scattering cold ashes of an empty hearth!
>
> *Marna Pease*

At this point I ended my letter with Yours-bother-you, etc., and a reply came by return which ran:

My Dear Little Anarchist:

Thanks for your screed, with which I'm mostly agreed—anyhow I like it.

Haven't time to answer properly now, but just thought I'd like to say I don't take your forlorn and rather irrelevant ending very seriously. 'To die is better than to live'! . . . Such stuff! Must you leave it to me to point out that it's only in life that men are permitted to know the rapture of contemplating the ecstasy of death?

But there, I fancy your outcasts would readily vote for life without falling back on so morbid an excuse. And so would you, I declare. You always were a bit of an impostor, you know.

Affectionately,

Toady

P. S. Josephine thinks you're just amusing—I know that will annoy you.

I Have Lived Among the Ruins

Here is the aftermath of war—a story for the sober contemplation of those who think another war might be necessary

By PAUL F. DORING

I HAVE LIVED among the ruins of Germany.

A motor car provided by the Town Hall took me to all the bunkers in and around Düsseldorf, to places nobody else may visit. Here I could see an ocean of misery I did not know of before, in spite of all the written and oral reports which had come to us in Switzerland. You can only grasp it when you have seen it yourself.

You must witness it in order to believe it. A bunker four or five stories high, the height of a big store, *without any windows*, almost completely dark inside and without fresh air.

On entering you smell the vile air, which takes your breath away. It is true there is a kind of ventilation with automatic fresh air supply. But it was meant to function only in case of emergency in nights of bombing attacks, which these thick walls actually withstood.

But to live there—as many bombed-out and homeless families are compelled to do—the fresh air supply is not sufficient.

The homes of these families are small cabins where they cook and live. The big entrance door is not sufficient to let out all the cooking and other smells. In a single one of these bunkers 450 persons are housed.

All inmates, especially women and children who have their daily occupation there, have the pallor of death. How marvelous that a mother does not despair when she cooks and launders on a small stove and does her sewing and ironing all in a narrow room. And on top of all this these women manage to sew slippers out of scanty material and waste, so that at least the children do not stand barefooted on the concrete floor.

There is nothing left for the children to do but to loiter about. There is no place for playing in the bunker. On the other hand one cannot persuade them to go into the open air. With an empty stomach and without the necessary clothes there is no stimulus left to them to go out.

Sometimes the warden forces them to go "to the air," but they simply stand dazzled by the unaccustomed daylight. They are much too tired to run about, too empty to think of anything. They lean against the bunker wall, dozing, and then creep back into their caves.

Many children can only stand with an effort because of their weak legs. Others have sickly reddened eyes. What touched me to the quick was the sight of these children swaying the upper part of their bodies while staring into emptiness—a symptom only too well known to me in children of a home for mental defectives. While

swaying and shaking the glance is empty—a light blown out as it were. I know what it means, when the child starts with this rhythmic movement: To shake off an existence which has become unbearable, the flight into an intoxicated twilight.

Not less alarming is what the doctor has to say about tuberculosis and rickets raging in these bunkers. The young doctor who sacrifices his life in these caves is thin and of the pallor of death. He is helped by two nurses who are facing collapse themselves, and there is one English Red Cross nurse.

But what can they do? If the doctor does diagnose TB he can send the child to a nursing home for a fortnight! Then the child must go back to the world without light, the very hotbed of TB and other illnesses. There are no medicines. It is a breeding ground for psychological illnesses of children, which if once planted are even more difficult to fight. I was told there is an abundance of asocial children in the bunkers. How much of human inhumanity these children experience!

When you hear what the Warden has to go through then you understand how life becomes hell in these caves. The Warden who has to keep order is exhausted after a short time by the malice of the inmates. Who wants to be warden or doctor or teacher there? Yes, there must even be schools, lessons held in the bunker itself, because the children have not sufficient clothes, especially no shoes to go to school with.

Therefore in the middle of the bunker there is a school without windows and without fresh air. The ventilation seldom functions because when there is no electricity the ventilation is interrupted. I stood in such a bunker school room. The children had put their heads on the desks, dozing or sleeping. I myself was near fainting and had to get out quickly.

Taking a deep breath as if awakening from a nightmare we stepped into our motor car which took us back through rows of destroyed houses. What was it I had seen? Hell or earthly reality of human agony and shame?

In recollecting one cannot believe it was reality. It seems as if you had been away for thousands of years, on another planet, with human beings who had lost the faculty to be human beings.

And all this is happening amongst us.

"Sometimes I even think about the Other World—America, I mean—but I'm happier when I don't. It's hard to remember what life in America is like without some sort of 'visual aid' like the female American magazine I picked up the other day. I was so disgusted by the time I was halfway through that I threw the thing on the floor. The horrible thought is that six months ago I would have snatched up that same magazine and read it from cover to cover, cutting out the delicious-sounding recipes that call for all their butter and sugar and white flour, studying the latest fashion lines that waste bolts and bolts of material that could keep little kids warm. . . . "

—From a Friends worker in Germany.

Gandhi and India

From Calcutta by HORACE ALEXANDER

GANDHI NOW LIVES, not in the outward shell of the body, but in the hearts of hundreds of millions of living Indians. Certainly the vitality with which this extraordinary life will be allowed to root itself and to flourish in the hearts of these millions will vary greatly.

I subscribe to the Quaker teaching that there is some vital seed of God himself in every human heart. But even if we omit the few who deliberately try to kill that seed within them, how many of us there are who neglect it, who expect it to live without nourishment, or who build walls around it, lest it should grow uncomfortably large!

So, no doubt, it will be with the millions who love and almost worship this great soul who lived to nearly four-score years in India, and who then fell to the assassin's bullet. For long years they have acclaimed him, but far too often, as he himself on occasion complained, it has been a blind and misguided adoration. It may well be that the first effect of his death, for very many, will be to take his teachings to heart far more seriously than ever they did whilst he lived.

For thirty years Gandhi worked and struggled and suffered to bring communal peace to India—that is to say, peace between Hindus and Moslems. Of the four hundred million people of this land, over two hundred and fifty million are Hindu by religious faith or tradition, and about a hundred million are Moslems. Hinduism is, historically, a very tolerant religion, ready to adapt itself or to absorb new teachings. But Islam, the Moslem faith, is a crusading faith, like Christianity, which cannot easily come to terms with those outside its borders. So, for generations, there has been tension and alienation.

Millions on Friendly Terms

This tension, however, should not be exaggerated. Over vast areas of village India, the peasants of the two faiths, though normally living a little apart from one another, have been on perfectly friendly terms, and have often taken part in one another's festivals. The tension of recent years has been a feature of towns rather than villages, and was greatly intensified by the unhappy decision made some forty years ago to give Hindus and Moslems separate political constituencies and to use elaborate communal ratios in making appointments to government service. The religious division became a political division, and as the day of political freedom drew near the competition for power grew and intensified. In addition to the main nationalist party, called the Congress Party, which included men and women of all communities and which fought on one front against British rule, there first grew up the Moslem League, whose main purpose was to safeguard the Moslems, and then as a counterpoise the Hindu Mahasabha, which was founded in order to protect the Hindu commu-

nity against the encroachment of the Moslems on their rights and privileges.

Mahatma Gandhi, who for a generation was the unchallenged leader of the Congress, fought against this tendency toward communal strife throughout his career. His first long fast was undertaken twenty-five years ago, after there had been a number of communal riots. It had a very good effect at the time, but before long the situation deteriorated again.

Finally, the leaders of the Moslem League began to demand a separate sovereign state of their own, under the name of Pakistan, "the land of the pure." Mr. Gandhi fought against this from the beginning, but a year ago his colleagues in the Congress leadership gave way, and agreed to the division of India. When this had been agreed in principle the British, as their last act before withdrawing, fixed the boundary lines, assigning to Pakistan only those territories, in the Northeast and the Northwest of India, where the Moslems have a clear majority. This has meant, as was inevitable, that nearly forty million Moslems remain scattered over the length and breadth of the Hindustan or Indian territory; and some millions of Hindus are still left in Pakistan.

As the date for Indian independence, August 15, 1947, drew near, grave fears arose that there might be serious outbreaks of communal violence, especially in Bengal and Punjab, the two great Provinces which were being cut in two. Mahatma Gandhi, a few days before August 15, took up his residence with a local Moslem leader in a part of Calcutta, chief city of Bengal, where the conflicts between the communities had been very acute. And his presence led to the "miracle of Calcutta," when suddenly the ten millions of that city, who for a year had lived in two warring camps, resolved to be friends and to inaugurate India's freedom with mutual rejoicings. A fortnight later the situation temporarily deteriorated, and Gandhi began a fast; but the situation was quickly brought under control, and peace has reigned in Calcutta ever since.

Punjab in Flames

Unhappily, the Mahatma could not be in all places at once. While the magic of his influence was bringing peace to Calcutta, the Punjab went up in flames. It is idle to try to apportion blame, but the underlying cause is clear enough. The Moslems, or at least the leaders of the Moslem League, had succeeded in establishing a separate state in which, presumably, all non-Moslems would be second-class citizens. The Hindu Mahasabha and its sympathizers in return wanted Hindus to control the Hindu territories, the Moslems who might be there to go to Pakistan. Against this narrow and suicidal doctrine the outstanding leaders of the Indian Union, and above all Mahatma Gandhi, fought with every ounce of their strength throughout the autumn. Unhappily, they could not stop the exchange of populations between the two parts of the divided Punjab.

At one time during the autumn, it looked as if the Moslems would be driven from their homes all over the vast territory of the Indian sub-continent. Due to the determined efforts of Gandhi and Nehru and many loyal and devoted Indian officials, this dreadful catastrophe was averted. The situation

in Delhi remained so bad however, that at the beginning of January, 1948, the Mahatma began another fast. He made it clear that he would break it only if he were satisfied that all communities in Delhi had taken the lesson to heart, and were genuinely determined to make the city safe for all.

His action did bring the leaders of the various communities to their senses, and within a week he was able to break his fast, which also had very good effects in other parts of the country. But a small group in the Hindu Mahasabha, living in Bombay and Poona, was apparently all the more embittered against him, as the man who was shielding the Moslems. It was one of these men who shot him dead as he was proceeding to his daily public prayer meeting on January 30.

First Effects Hopeful

The immediate effect of Gandhi's assassination, apart from a few attacks on Hindu Mahasabha buildings and individuals, seems to be a very widespread determination to take to heart the teaching that has led to his death. India is faced with an immediate choice: To be a land where the Hindus rule or a land of true toleration, where men of all religious communities will live in peace, and where there shall be social justice for all. Gandhi continues to say, in effect: Never mind what is happening in Pakistan; they must decide whether they will be tolerant or intolerant. But whatever they decide, we must be true to the historic tradition of Hinduism, which is tolerance.

Since the day of his death I have been recalling how, about a year ago when he spent weeks going from village to village in East Bengal preaching peace in an area where the Moslems had attacked Hindus, he turned to me one day and said: "I wonder if you realize that today the cult of violence has taken hold of a section of Hindus also." And as if to emphasize the urgent importance of what he was saying he paused in his walk for a moment, and looked straight at me as he repeated: "Did you realize that?"

There is the issue fairly joined. The man who preached non-violence, the man who through a long life explored and demonstrated ways to overcome evil with good, hate with love, violence with smiling, has at the end been martyred for his faith. It is not only India that is left to face the alternative. His death brings it home to all the world, and it seems that the world as a whole is aware that that is the meaning of his death. Are we all to perish through competition in violence, through threats of coercion, or can man at this eleventh hour still retrace his steps, and begin to practice the terrific virtues of loving one's enemies, of converting ill will to good will, which the great soul of Gandhi has shown?

His life, his death, stand as a beacon light for all mankind, to show the path to salvation. It is overwhelmingly difficult, but it is the road to life. The alternative is the easy way to destruction, and each of us must choose. If we choose the Gandhian way, though it may not lead us to an exact copying of his outward life, it must necessarily involve a great measure of that utter self-abandon which was one of the most miraculous and breathtaking features of his consecrated, beautiful life.

No Cross, No Crown . . .

(On the Sunday after Gandhi's death, CBS devoted its Chicago Roundtable broadcast to the Mahatma. Among the participants were FOR members Milton Mayer, who led the discussion, and John Haynes Holmes. Mr. Mayer's concluding comments are reprinted here, by permission.)

George Bernard Shaw said, yesterday, of Gandhi's death, "It shows how dangerous it is to be too good." I would say on the contrary that the plight of Western man, including Mr. Shaw, shows how dangerous it is not to be good enough.

Gandhi shows us a path to greatness that no Western leader seems even to have thought of taking, with the exception of William Penn. Gandhi, I think, shows us that greatness consists in nothing more than goodness carried too far.

The American he most admired was Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau went to prison, a century ago, rather than pay taxes to a government which maintained human slavery; and his *Essay on Civil Disobedience,* which Gandhi read and reread, argued not only the righteousness but also the effectiveness of individual, nonviolent, non-cooperation with injustice. Thoreau wrote: "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison. . . . If any think that their influence would be lost there, . . . they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person."

Jesus said, "If My Kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight." Gandhi's kingdom was of this world, and still his servants would not fight. Gandhi adapted Holy Writ to statesmanship, and in this strict sense, I think, we have to say that he was the first Christian politician since Jesus—Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln not excepted.

No cross, no crown; no suffering, no strength; no sacrifice, no victory —if this creed is valid, if politicians no less than persons must love their enemies, then all these warring statesmen who place their faith in force all fall together. All armed ideologies, including our own, fall together; all bosses who believe in force and all workers who believe in force fall together. If Jesus is right, if Gandhi is right, then Roosevelt and Hitler fall together, and Wallace and Taft, and Truman and Stalin. If Gandhi is right, all those who believe that force and pressure and power will carry the day are wrong, and always have been, even though some of them would use force for good rather than for evil purposes.

This, if it is true, is terrible to contemplate. The fate of Churchill's world empire and of Hitler's world slavery is before our eyes. If Gandhi is right, and if mankind survives in the spirit of love, then the ruins of democracy by force and communism by force will both bear their blackened testimony to the rightness of the Christian politician.

But this means a revolution much more radical than any of the revolutionaries have ever suggested. It means that we must change the whole order of personal and political life or change nothing.

AMMON HENNACY WRITES

Sunday Morning in the Orchard

The first stop my boss, our Mexican housekeeper, and I made was at the twig-encircled stump where the mourning dove had her very poorly constructed nest, the worst built of any bird. She was gone. At our approach Little Brother attacked the air wildly with his bill and when we came nearer he flapped his wings at us, standing up bravely. Little Sister—for they are always born in pairs—never blinked an eye, resting peacefully as if aware of her maternal function which later was to tell her not to leave the eggs entrusted to her care.

Thousands of bees buzzed contentedly among the blossoms of our thousands of apple trees. The seeming far away sound of the mourning dove, the chirp of the robin, and the shrill note of the meadow lark drowned out in our consciousness the noise of the product of the Merchants of Death in training over our heads. My boss says that the meadow lark calls: "John Greenleaf Whittier." I had not thought of the call of this bird as being a Quaker name before.

As my boss and our housekeeper were planting young trees they came near where I was irrigating, for water from our well runs day and night from April to November; and he said: "We have done more good for humanity this morning planting fruit-bearing trees than the munition makers of all time," and he glanced up at the airplanes overhead.

True to the frugality of her people our housekeeper picked up bits of wood for the stove as she went here and there in the orchard. Wild lettuce and asparagus were also gathered under the trees, and made a delicious variety for our meals.

Here in the orchard all impatience, ill temper, wrath at the perverse sinfulness of mankind disappear. A calmness, a peace, the oneness with Mother Nature, the grower and producer, hemmed in for activity in our Rio Grande Valley by the rolling mountains to be seen at every hand, and presided over by the same Father Sun whose rays had given light and warmth to his worshippers in the neighboring pueblos.

As we left the orchard for dinner, my boss, veteran of the Villa campaign and World War I, and I, veteran pacifist, closed our morning worship in God's Outdoors: a church with no membership list, no Mammon worship, and free to all who release themselves from the bondage of the city; whose only admittance is calloused hands and whose only sacrament is kindness toward all of God's creatures, including man. Spontaneously we sang the doxology and "My Country 'Tis of Thee." Perhaps it was the spirit of that love of nature and of all wild things, of brother wolf and sister bird; the spirit of the great and lowly St. Francis, that blessed our communion with the divine that morning. We could understand now why the Doukhobors in British Columbia would interrupt their work in their orchards any day of the week with praise of God instead of setting aside any special day or place for worship.

What are the economics of peace? Here the former general secretary of the Cooperative League considers—

Consumers' Cooperation and Peace

By E. R. BOWEN

The economic foundations of world peace stand in need of sweeping and essential changes. It is my contention that a cooperative economy made up primarily of Consumers' Cooperatives and Producers' Unions, and reinforced by a People's Party, can build a stable economy which will eliminate booms and busts and produce abundance to be distributed equitably to all.

Such a cooperative economy would assist materially in bringing peace on earth, although the full solution of man's problems requires the development of a new social-mind and its embodiment in new religious, educational, political and cultural forms, as well as economic.

The Economic Causes and Results of Conflicts

It may not be possible to determine statistically what degree of responsibility for both internal and external conflicts should be apportioned to our present economic system, but it is unquestionably large. The Catholic Encyclical "Forty Years After," said bluntly, "This concentration of [financial and industrial] power has led to a threefold struggle for domination. First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself; then, the fierce battle to acquire control of the State, so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic struggles; finally, the clash between States themselves."

President Wilson said in an address shortly following World War I, ". . . . the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry. . . . This war was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

Philosopher John Macmurray, makes the same point. "So long as a great power remains capitalist, the inevitable development of its economic system will force it into a situation where war is the only alternative to revolution."

One of our greatest philosophers, Dr. Horace M. Kallen, has written profoundly on this subject. In an article "Of War and Peace," published in *Social Research*, he suggests that what we call times of peace and what we call times of war are alike in this: that they are both states of conflict. What we call times of peace are states of internal conflict; what we call times of war are the extensions of these internal conflicts beyond the borders of each nation into international conflicts. It is warfare when a country's population is maimed by being ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed, just as it is warfare when they are maimed by bullets and bombs.

We all know that, without the support of business and banking leaders, no war could be entered

into by political leaders. *The New Republic* made a significant statement to the effect that before our political leaders in Washington could go to war, they had first to make their peace with the business and banking leaders in Wall Street.

This statement was confirmed by the fact that the first important business and banking leaders drafted as dollar-a-year men by Washington before World War II were the chairman of our largest steel producing corporation, the president of our largest automobile manufacturing corporation, and the vice-president of our largest distributing corporation.

As a result of our two world wars big business and banking have become more entrenched in ownership and control of our economy, and small business, farmers and workers have increasingly lost ownership and control. President Wilson recognized this inevitable fact in advance of World War I by saying: "If war comes, we shall have to get the cooperation of the big businessmen and, as a result, they will dominate the nation for twenty years after the war comes to an end." The facts and figures having to do with both the first and second world wars bear out the truth of his prediction.

It is easy to see today, after the Second World War, that Wall Street's representatives in the monopoly and military fields have increased their economic and political controls over the nation.

At a time when the whole world is experiencing an economic revolution, three facts relative to our present social-economic system must be recognized.

The first fact is that progressive developments in the use of power for production require progressive developments in social-economic organization. Hand power was paralleled by the economic system of slavery; animal power by the economic system of serfdom; steam power by the economic system of capitalism. During the first half of the twentieth century we have developed new forms of power for production in the shape of automatic gas and electric power, but we have failed to develop a new social-economic system to parallel them. Probably the simplest and most graphic way to point up the necessity we now confront would be to ask how the necessary purchasing power will be distributed to producer-consumers when a factory becomes completely automatic in operation, as some are in the process of becoming, and there is no more need of workers as operators of the machines.

Two Forms of Control

The second fact is that our failure to change our social-economic system of distribution to parallel the changes we have made in our system of power production, by a gradual evolutionary process, has resulted in the revolutionary development of two forms of economic ownership and control which are at opposite poles. We describe them in various ways as individualistic-monopolism, as in the United States, and political-totalitarianism, as in Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia. The one represents dictatorial economic-political individualism and the other dictatorial political-economic bureaucracy. In one case economic dictatorship controls the political system, in the other political dictatorship controls

the economic system. Both use force as their method of control and rule by a minority.

The third fact is that the present situation requires rapid change in thinking and action. Our minds need to "jump," as Henry Adams wrote forty years ago. Yet a famous cartoonist pictures us as "a nation of creepers." We must, first of all, repudiate both capitalist-monopoly individualism and communist-bureaucracy totalitarianism. Then we must resolve to develop a social-economic system that will combine the extremes of liberty and of solidarity, of individual freedom and of social unity, and so by the peaceful means of persuasion.

I know of no one who has foreseen the processes of time which have brought us to our present tragic condition, and has so clearly described the actions which we should take, as the poet-economist of Ireland, George W. Russell, known as AE. In an essay, written in 1915 during the early part of World War I, under the title, "The Spiritual Conflict," he declared that "through the centuries humanity has oscillated like a pendulum betwixt opposing ideals. The greatest reactions have been from solidarity to liberty and from liberty to solidarity." To him Britain represented the extreme of liberty and Germany the extreme of solidarity. Then, with the vision that is vouchsafed only to those who are poets and philosophers, he prophesied: "What we ought to realize is that these reactions take place within one being, humanity, and indicate eternal desires of the soul. They seem to urge on us the idea that there is a pleroma, or human fullness, in which the opposites may be reconciled, and that the divine event to which we are moving is a State in which there will be essential freedom combined with an organic unity."

He urges men to accept the fact that such a State can only be achieved by the processes of peaceful persuasion: "Ideas are things which can only be conquered by a greater beauty or intellectual power, and they are never more powerful than when they do not come in alliance with physical forces." Again he says "Love and hate are alike in this, that they change us into the image we adore. We grow nobly like what we adore through love and ignobly like what we contemplate through hate."

In other writings Russell describes in detail a cooperative commonwealth which will implement these ideals.

The Need for Change

Consumers' Cooperation accepts the necessity of a change in the social-economic organization of distribution to parallel the changes in the methods of power production. Consumers' Cooperation rejects both individualistic-monopolism and totalitarianism-communism and their methods of a minority rule by force, and accepts peaceful evolution and majority rule as the necessary and only method of permanent change.

The Rochdale rules on which Consumers' Cooperation is based are the economic application of the principles of freedom and justice. They will contribute greatly to the realization of plenty for all and peace on earth. These rules are eight in number:

1. Open membership eliminates discrimination of every kind. Every one qualifies automatically for

membership since everyone is a consumer. You are free to join or not to join.

2. One-person-one-vote gives everyone an equal share in control, irrespective of the amount of his or her investment.

3. Patronage-return-on-purchases means that you get back the difference between what it costs to produce and distribute what you buy and the price you pay. In other words cost and price become the same, for there is no profit between them. This solves the problem of profit and results in justice in distribution and continuously increased production.

4. Member-owned-capital and limited-interest provide ownership of shares for everyone in productive and distributive facilities, and prevent speculation.

5. Cooperatives practice neutrality in religion, politics, residence, occupation, race and nationality.

6. Cooperatives buy and sell for cash and thus solve the problem of debt, as well as the problem of profit.

7. Cooperatives grow only by the process of education and persuasion.

8. Cooperatives expand continuously.

These are the practical rules on which a cooperative economy can be built by peaceful means which will achieve the combined ends of individual liberty and social justice in industry and finance.

The ultimate solution of war lies in the development within each of us of a new social-thought-pattern. We have had many outstanding examples of individuals who have thus successfully developed themselves, as well as examples of groups who have done so in a more limited way. Among today's examples Kagawa, Gandhi, and many others less well known, may be cited. The American who, to me, developed such a social-thought-pattern to the greatest degree was John Woolman. In his own personal living he renounced war, slavery, riches and intemperance and spent his life endeavoring to persuade others to do likewise. Muriel Lester has emphasized the necessity of developing internal self-discipline to solve these problems, otherwise we will necessarily continue to live under some form of external discipline.

New Social Thought Pattern

The new social-thought-pattern must first be developed in individuals who will endeavor to practice it in their own personal lives and will then translate it into a new cooperative economy. Such a cooperative economy will require three things:

First, a change in motive from self-interest to social good.

Second, a change in economic method from competition to cooperation.

Third, a change in objective from individual profit to social abundance. We need a reinterpretation of the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Their true application to our economic system would not mean poverty for the many and riches for the few, but abundance for all.

Consumers' Cooperation embodies this new motive, this new method and this new objective. It represents the true economic organization of liberty, equality and fraternity.

(Please turn to page 22)

MILTON MAYER ASKS—

Creed or Cult?

I can't get it out of my head that my unwillingness to stop killing my fellow men makes a mockery of my pacifism. I keep asking myself why there are so few pacifists—and why pacifism is a dying, instead of a living and growing, creed—and at the end of my asking is my admission that I am not one myself. As long as I pay my taxes I am a killer. I am buying guns, and men to carry them.

This admission, forcing itself upon me more and more insistently, makes it progressively harder for me to think or talk or work constructively for peace. Indeed, it makes it progressively harder for me to think of any other way to peace than the way of tax refusal. But this, on the face of it, is ridiculous; there must be a thousand ways to peace. And I can think of only one. It is one that I have come by so recently—though I learn that Quakers were refusing to pay taxes 300 years ago—that its very newness dazzles and immobilizes me. I feel that I have stumbled on something that I can *do* and that, while there are plenty of other things I can say or write, there is nothing else I can do. I am childishly fascinated. Here is action; everything else is suddenly twaddle.

Of late I have been asking my fellow pacifists wherever I go why I should go on paying my taxes, and their reasons for my paying are good, and I cannot then and there refute them. But after the talk is over and I am alone, I tell myself that as long as I pay my taxes I am a killer. And sometimes I tell myself that the reasons for going on paying all boil down to cowardice and aren't reasons at all.

Mr. Truman, in his budget message, declares that 78 (or 79, I forget which) percent of the federal budget goes for war. I cannot persuade myself that this is the general welfare, or even the national defense. I cannot persuade myself that there weren't thousands of Germans under Hitler who, though they knew the percentage of their national budget that went for war, thought they were pacifists because they talked against war; while we were saying that the Germans had converted their nation into a monster, or had wittingly connived in its conversion.

In my search for justification, I have talked to more and more pacifists, FOR members in particular.

MRS. URIE REFUSES

On March 15 Mrs. Caroline F. Urie, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, wrote President Truman her refusal to pay, this year, 34.6 percent of her income tax, that being the portion of the national budget devoted to "military expenditures." Mrs. Urie enclosed receipts showing that an equivalent amount had been paid in contributions to four nonprofit organizations, including the FOR and AFSC.

None of them denies that a nation which spends 78 or 79 percent of its budget for war is a monster. None of them denies that the payment of taxes, under these conditions, is the support of war. They say that tax refusal is either ineffective, inasmuch as so few would adopt it; or impossible, inasmuch as first, the government would come and take the tax anyway, and, second, the person who refused to pay the income tax and still paid the tax on bread or shoes would still be a killer. But this last seems to me, when the talk is over and I am alone, to be an argument against paying the tax on bread and shoes, not in favor of paying the income tax. And as for the government's coming and taking it anyway, it seems to me that there is all the difference in the world between voluntary and involuntary manslaughter; while the argument of ineffectiveness seems to me to overlook the fact that if I can't stop other people's killing I must still stop my own.

And when I hear these arguments from pacifists—arguments long since refuted in faith by Jesus, in philosophy by Tolstoy and Thoreau, and in practice by Gandhi—I find myself more miserable than ever. For these are the arguments advanced by nonpacifists, and my going to my fellow pacifists for help seems to be a waste of time. And then my misery is compounded, because I find myself saying, "There being no difference between pacifists and nonpacifists on this question of buying war, on what question is there a difference?" And the answer seems only to be, "In pulling the trigger."

These are good people, these pacifists; better than I am, far. So many of them have given their lives, their reputations, and their fortunes to the fight for peace. But they are all of them, whatever else they are doing, giving their fortunes to the fight for war. And they cannot answer my question: How am I to stop killing my fellow men? And I find myself losing my faith in them at a time when I have nowhere else to turn.

"I Think You're a Fraud"

Maybe none of them has had the experience I had last week, when I was preaching pacifism at a college in Missouri. A bitter young man stood up and said: "Do you pay your taxes?" I said: "Yes." He said: "Well, I believe in war and in coming out in the open and fighting it, and you believe in war and in financing it while fellows like me do the shooting. If you don't mind my saying so, I think you're a fraud."

I minded his saying so, but I think I'm a fraud. I minded his saying so because I had no answer, and I felt that, after what he had said, my pacifist message was lost on my audience. Those were his words—the words I have quoted—and that was the way I felt. What should I have said? Should I have said that I was a CO in the last war? He might have replied: "Not if you paid your taxes, you weren't." What would I have said then: that I was a semi-conscientious objector?

You will have to forgive me my monomania, but I can't let go of this subject because it won't let go of me. I have got to have a justification for my going on killing, and it has got to be on some other grounds than the ineffectiveness or the impossibility of stopping. When I am told that tax refusal would jeopardize my family's food, I am

reminded that I was told (not by pacifists then) that draft refusal would jeopardize my family's life. I have got to have a justification for my going on killing, and it will have to be a better justification than the nonpacifists give me or I will have to stop being a pacifist.

My patience is running out—a bad sign in itself. The issue seems profoundly simple and profoundly clear—another bad sign in itself. I sit writing this in my comfortable home, or saying it in other men's comfortable homes, and meanwhile there is more and more war, less and less peace, less and less prospect of peace, and I can not get it out of my head that there is some central connection between my and other men's comfort, on the one hand, and continuing war in the world on the other. The consequence of tax refusal is discomfort; of war, death; and of killing, damnation.

I will have to stop being a pacifist if I go on paying my taxes, because I will be a killer; and I will have to stop being a pacifist if I refuse to pay my taxes, because the pacifists all pay theirs. Either pacifism is a creed, whose minimum dogma is the refusal to kill, or it is a cult, whose maximum concern is the diversion of its members. If it is a cult, I don't know why I should not be a nudist or, for that matter, a soldier.

BOWEN —*concluded*

Kropotkin rightly interpreted the law of nature as mutual aid in his book under that title, written many years ago. More recently, Dr. Allee, head of the Zoological Department of Chicago University, and President of the American Zoological Society, has reinforced Kropotkin's interpretation of his experiments with animals, which he has presented in his *Social Life of Animals.*

Economists, anthropologists, psychologists and, now, a famous biologist, Dr. Joseph Needham, Fellow of the Royal Society, have all supported the thesis that cooperation is a law of nature. Dr. Needham says "The world cooperative commonwealth is not, as so many people seem to think, a wild preposterous dream; it is a certain resolution of our difficulties, having the full authority of evolution behind it . . . whatever forces hinder the coming of the world cooperative commonwealth, where all human races will live in harmony together, and where the old maxim will be true 'from each according to his capacities, to each according to his needs,' that force is ultimately doomed."

When We Really Want Peace

When we really want peace we will do these two things:

We will develop a new cooperative economy under which the efficiency and economy of distribution and production will be increased, and under which exploitation of one's fellow man will be eliminated.

We will discontinue our attempts to control other countries, by withdrawing our armies, by exchanging food, goods and services on a cooperative nonprofit and nondebt basis, by assisting the people of other nations out of our abundance, and by extending the peaceful hand of cooperative brotherhood.

News from the Peace Front

Magnes Condemns Zionist Violence

Dr. Judah L. Magnes, speaking at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, condemned "Zionist totalitarianism" which he said is trying to bring the entire Jewish people under its influence "by force and violence." Dr. Magnes is a pacifist and one of the best-known men in the Jewish community.

Dr. Magnes condemned the use of violence as an effective method of re-establishing a Jewish state and declared "They call those who do this gangsters and rabble. But are not all of us responsible, all of us guilty, seeing such foul deeds done in an atmosphere which countenances terror and carried out by official or half-official dissidents who claim to be acting for the good of the whole people?"

He said that American Jews are also guilty, both those who make no protest against the violence and those who encourage it.

Gandhi's Son Fights Race Discrimination

Manilal Gandhi, son of Mohandas Gandhi, and three other prominent Indians, have been charged in South Africa with aiding and abetting passive resisters in violating the immigration regulations by crossing the Natal border into Transvaal without permits. The Asiatic Land Tenure Act regulates the occupation and acquisition of land by Indians in a highly discriminatory way.

Manilal Gandhi is the editor of a weekly newspaper in South Africa founded by his father, and has been recalling in it the campaign of 1913 led by Gandhi, and carried on in the same manner, which successfully brought concessions from the South African government.

Millions More Asked for Greece

On February 26 Secretary of State George C. Marshall asked Congress for an additional $275 million for strictly military aid to Greece and Turkey. He said that "The totalitarian groups whose aggressive aims have thus far been frustrated by the continued existence of a free Greece and a free Turkey are convinced that time will play into their hands."

Turkey and Greece will also receive aid for economic reconstruction under ERP if it goes through.

Canadian FOR Protests Spy Film

The Canadian FOR has protested to the Twentieth-Century Fox film company, which is working on a movie based on last year's Communist spy trials in Canada. The statement points out that suspicion and fear are dividing the nations into two hostile camps, and urges the elimination of actions which will only tend to aggravate such fear and suspicion.

Schwenk Resigns; Watson Joins Staff

After four years of work as Midwest Secretary of the FOR, Emerson Schwenk has accepted an urgent call to the First Universalist Church in Haverhill, Massachusetts. He took up his position there on March 1.

In his place, Albert Watson of Canada has been elected Midwest Secretary. Ab Watson has been Secretary of the young but growing Canadian FOR for four years, and it has progressed and expanded steadily as a result of his work. He will take up his position in the Midwest as soon as customs difficulties can be straightened out.

College Students Study Race Prejudice

The Ohio College Conference in Minority Problems, under the sponsorship of the FOR and the Anti-Defamation League, was held on February 6-8 in Columbus, to discuss with college students and administrators the nature of discrimination in colleges and methods of eliminating it.

The Conference recommended the elimination of discrimination in selection of students, in fraternities and sororities, and in giving scholarships; that faculty and staff be selected without regard to race or religion; and that equal access to all facilities of the school be guaranteed to every student. To accomplish these ends, the group recommended techniques of investigation, arbitration, education, sacrifice, and non-violent direct action.

The Conference also logically carried its decisions through to include discrimination in the college community, and asserted the responsibility of college administration and students to be concerned with it. It countered the oft-repeated criticism against direct action that it "causes trouble" by pointing out that the absence of overt conflict does not mean that there is no "trouble," and closed its statement with the conclusion: *To believe is to act!*

Journey Case Dropped in Virginia

The case of Conrad Lynn, one of the members of the Journey of Reconciliation who was arrested in Virginia, has been dropped, and those against Dennis Banks and Wallace Nelson, also in Virginia, probably will be, as a result of the ruling of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals in the case of Lottie E. Taylor.

Mrs. Taylor refused to move to the rear of a bus at the driver's request, and was arrested on a disorderly conduct charge. Many groups have been watching the case with interest, to see whether the bus companies would be able to maintain segregation indirectly through the state disorderly conduct law. The Court on March 1 unanimously reversed her previous conviction, and dismissed the case against her.

The three Journey cases in Virginia have been pending, waiting the outcome of this case, since they are essentially the same. Conrad Lynn, whose case has been dropped, has authorized the lawyers to institute a civil suit for damages against the bus company, and the others may do the same. They would withdraw their cases, of course, if the bus company changes its policy.

Czech Churches Plead for Peace

In Czechoslovakia on February 2, for the first time since the death of the Czech reformer John Hus in 1414, all the Christian churches in that country came together. Called to protest the current trend toward war and to rally the churches everywhere in a drive for peace, the meeting aroused such wide public enthusiasm that not only was the Assembly Hall in Prague jammed, but the Slavonic Island, where the Hall stands, was crowded, as well as the opposite bank of the Vultava River, with people who followed the proceedings by means of loudspeakers.

Several members of the Czech cabinet and of the diplomatic corps were present, including delegates from the Soviet, French and Italian embassies. The United States Embassy unfortunately did not send a representative, a fact which was quickly pointed out in the Communist press.

Speeches pointed out the suicidal nature of atomic war and urged resistance to forces leading to war. The meeting ended with the reading of an "Appeal of the Christian Churches for Peace in the World," signed by the heads of all the eleven Christian churches of Czechoslovakia.

In the latter part of February the dangerous trend toward war was accelerated by the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia itself. On the Western Front, Britain and France have launched a Western Europe political and military bloc and have invited Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg to conclude alliances with them. The two countries announced at the same time that they intend to expand the Western alliance to other nations in the Marshall Plan group.

Annual Conference Speakers Announced

The Estes Park division of the FOR Annual Conference will have Dean Paul Roberts of Denver to lead a seminar on "Pacifism in the Home," and the opening session will probably be addressed by Chancellor Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago.

At the eastern conference, Professor Nels Ferré of Andover-Newton Theological Seminary will speak and Professor Charles Iglehart of Union Theological Seminary will lead a seminar on pacifism in the churches.

Bill to Outlaw Immigration Restrictions

Rep. Walter Judd (R., Minn.) has introduced a bill into Congress to forbid discriminatory racial provisions in American nationality and immigration laws. The bill would grant naturalization rights to 90,000 Japanese who are permanent residents of the United States and would give immigration rights to Koreans, Japanese and other Asiatic peoples on the same basis as those now applied to people from China, the Philippines and India.

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Flier Would Not Fight Again

Appearing before the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors in England in January as a witness for a CO friend, Wing-Commander Millington, M.P., declared that he would not again take up arms on behalf of a sovereign state, but would only perform police duties for a world government. He felt that the UN, as at present constituted, was not such a world government.

The CO in whose behalf he appeared was Duncan E. Cameron, who claimed exemption from military service on the grounds that force was only justified on behalf of a law which was accepted by all states. In his opinion if the idea of federal world government is not accepted in three or four years there will be an almost totally destructive war. The Tribunal gave Cameron CO status on condition that he take forestry, land or hospital work. At the time of his appeal he was working for the Crusade for World Government, and stated that this was the work to which he must devote all his time.

National Guard Interracial in Jersey

New Jersey's new anti-discrimination law ran into a little heavy weather in early February. Although the law forbids segregation in the National Guard there, as well as in schools, etc., Col. Edward G. Wolf, of the Jersey National Guard, notified unit commanders that "under the present Department of the Army policy, mixed units are not authorized." The news was hardly out when Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey countermanded the order in a memo to the commander of the Jersey National Guard, mentioning the Jersey law and telling him "You will be guided by it." He then inquired of the Department of the Army whether its policy of segregation applied to the National Guard.

Secretary Royall replied that segregation had been instituted "in the interest of National Defense" and that "both the staff and I feel that this is still the case." However, he conceded that "for the present" National Guard units in New Jersey would not be denied Army recognition because they were unsegregated.

Several New England states watched the exchange with interest. Gov. James L. McConaughy of Connecticut, who protested segregation in the National Guard more than a year ago, said that although "the Connecticut constitution does not forbid segregation as New Jersey's does, we have the same attitude here."

Pacifist stenographer wanted in New York office. Send qualifications and references to Fellowship Magazine Box 18.

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We wish very much to get in touch with persons seriously interested in the way of life of the Bruderhof Communities of England and Paraguay, with the end in view of setting up similar groups in North America. H. and E. Little, Tunbridge, Vermont.

Read "PLANNING FOR WORLD PEACE," an interesting booklet concerning us—all to take part in it. Send fifty cents for your copy. Address Emil C. Hasenauer, Hayes Center, Neb.

Youth Committee Fights UMT

A national youth committee to fight the adoption of UMT was founded early this year by individuals who come from Catholic, Protestant and numerous secular youth groups. The committee has affiliated with the National Council Against Conscription, and will serve as its Youth Division. Chairman of the new Youth Division is William Luechtenburg, Executive Secretary of the student division of Americans for Democratic Action, and local and regional groups have been organized in New England, New York, Philadelphia and Ohio, and new groups are planned in all major cities.

New Jersey Balances Race Issue

Federal Judge William F. Smith ruled on February 9 in Newark, New Jersey, that a private amusement park is not required by the Federal constitution to admit persons it considers objectionable. The objectionable characters in this case are Negroes, some of them FOR members, who with white friends have been trying to change the discriminatory policy of Palisades Amusement Park across the river from New York City.

In the latter part of January, however, an all-white jury unanimously found the Montclair Skating Club guilty of discrimination against Negroes for denying admission to two Negro women, and fined the club $200 under the new anti-discrimination statute of New Jersey. The Club said it would test the law in an appeal to the State Supreme Court.

FAIR Prospects Are Good Prospects!

The race relations work of the FOR was honored with two national awards within the past few months. Such work provides dramatic examples of pacifist techniques working in actual conflict situations. It is to support and expand this kind of activity that FAIR (Fellowship Appeal for Intergroup Reconciliation) is recommended to FOR members.

A Program for 1948

TWO month-long Interracial Workshops.

FIVE weekend Race Relations Institutes.

Continued Organization of opposition to college quota systems.

Special Projects attacking discrimination and segregation nonviolently.

If you haven't yet joined the ranks of FAIR participants, won't you do so today, and thus help support this work? Simply list the number of friends to whom you want to send the FAIR folder and drop a postcard requesting a sufficient quantity to FAIR. Many nonmembers of FOR will be grateful for the chance to aid this phase of our work.

Write to

FAIR

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Guide Issued for Peace Collection

Swarthmore College's Jane Addams Peace Collection has issued its first guide to the books, documents and papers stored in its archives. Started with the papers of Jane Addams herself and expanded to take in peace activities in every country and in every language, the collection includes such diversified and otherwise unobtainable material as minutes and correspondence of national peace organizations like the FOR, the WILPF and the Committee on Militarism in Education, material from city and county anti-war and conscription committees, case files of COs defended by Julien Cornell, pamphlets, reports and other materials from Canada and Bulgaria, Germany and India, and 28 other countries, dating from as early as 1865.

Local FOR groups should put the Collection on their mailing lists to be sent copies of all local newsletters and publications.

Scholars will find the *Guide* and the Peace Collection invaluable, and organizations and individuals who have been concerned with the peace movement should get in touch with Ellen Starr Brinton, Curator of the Collection, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, about sending their papers and publications there. The *Guide* will be sent free on request.

Statement of Purpose Now in German

Elizabeth Huebner and Elizabeth Schnackenberg of the Denver FOR have translated the FOR Statement of Purpose into German for inclusion in letters and parcels to Germany. The Denver FOR would like to hear from people interested in translating it into French or other languages.

Toledo FOR Gets Things Done

Toledo FOR members have helped to form an Interfaith Ministers' Fellowship and a committee against UMT, are working with the NAACP and the Mayor's Community Relations Committee, are selling shares for a proposed Co-op super market, and keep Toledo libraries supplied with pacifist material.

Last summer they formed the first interracial vacation Bible school between a Negro and a white church with an interracial staff of 17 and over 100 students. They have held public FOR meetings, advertised by the distribution of 1,000 to 5,000 flyers, with Kirby Page, A. J. Muste, Muriel Lester, Paul Harris, and other speakers, in the course of the year. In addition the FOR group and individual members are active in numerous civic, educational and labor projects.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

Jottings

Under the British Labor Government, the production of steel has risen to 14,300,000 tons a year, the highest output in British history. Record production has also been established in chemicals, rayon, commercial vehicles, clocks and farm tractors.

* * *

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York has Negro workers in every department, selected and placed on the same basis as white workers. The personnel manager reports that there is absolutely no difference in the quality of work performed. In its low-cost housing projects, however, the Metropolitan Life refuses to allow Negroes to rent.

* * *

Seymour Eichel, whose father, Julius Eichel, was a CO in both World Wars, refused to give the oath of allegiance to the Constitution in order to graduate from a New York public high school. After a bit of hemming and hawing, the diploma was presented a few days late, to his father. Seymour was already at William Penn College, where he had enrolled for the spring term.

* * *

Cecelia Sheppard, longtime member and former traveling secretary of the FOR, now teaching religion and philosophy at William Penn College in Oskaloosa, Iowa, was severely burned when the house where she stayed suffered a disastrous fire as the result of a gas explosion. She is gradually recovering.

A New Feature for

FELLOWSHIP

The Pacifist Research Bureau's

Quarterly Research Surveys

Beginning with this issue, these valuable surveys will be published quarterly as a supplement to Fellowship, through the generosity and cooperation of the Pacifist Research Bureau.

The work of the PRB, already a heavy financial burden, thus becomes heavier, and the Bureau solicits contributions from persons concerned about the continuance of this work. For information write to Harrop S. Freeman, Director, 316 E. Court Street, Ithaca, N. Y.

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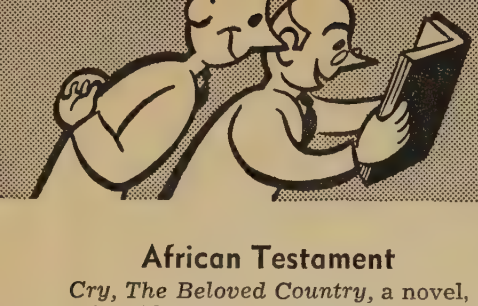

Books

African Testament

Cry, The Beloved Country, a novel, by Alan Paton. Scribners, 1948. 278 pp. $3.00.

The key to this book lies in its subtitle: "A Story of Comfort in Desolation." This comfort, and it is indeed comfort, lies in the spiritual power that flows from Mr. Paton's simple story. He teaches, "Hate no man and desire power over no man."

Added to this primary quality is a clear, comprehensive understanding of the way of the world—not just in South Africa but everywhere. Reflections on the world of hate and fear are of little use when they proceed from men who do not understand that world—who do not know the score. Mr. Paton is no such man. He has knowledge, courage, compassion and faith, expressed with a rare artistry. These are great attributes and with them he has fashioned what I believe may be a great novel. It is the most impressive modern novel I have read since *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh.*

An elderly Zulu parson, the Reverend Stephen Kumalo, goes from the village of Ndotsheni a day and a night's journey to the great city of Johannesburg in search of his sister and his son. They have been swallowed up by it, part of a tragic migration from eroded valleys no longer able to support their populations. In the city black men find mainly segregated slums, starvation, disease and crime.

Aided by his fellow clergyman, Msimangu, Kumalo finds his sister, who has become a prostitute. A longer search fails by a few days to find his son before the boy has shot a white man. This case attracts much attention, for the victim had been the leading advocate of justice for black men.

The journey and the education in tragedy of the old parson are a kind of pilgrim's progress. When he goes back to Ndotsheni at last with his sister's child, and with the girl who is with child by his son, the story is not ended. There develops a remarkable and moving relationship between Kumalo and the rich landowner, Jarvis, father of the man the parson's son had slain. From the interaction of the suffering of these two men comes comfort for each, regeneration for the village of Ndotsheni and, one may say, hope for the world of men.

By a masterful power of selection, Mr. Paton has made the simple elements of his story embrace a vast social picture. We are shown the patterns of erosion, industrial strife, Jim Crow segregation, racial tension and discrimination in fascinating parallels to these patterns in the United States. And we are taught a practical truth about such disintegration through oppression: "The tragedy is not that things are broken. The tragedy is that they are not mended again."

In a time of much shallow,

"knowing" writing this is a book with values and with humility. In an era of rigid dialectic and of raw force it brings a doctrine of peace and love. Yet it is neither dreamily ineffectual nor falsely sentimental unless one is willing to apply such words to the practice of this teaching by Gandhi, who began his spiritual career in this same South African scene.

The luminous, touching portraits of Kumalo, Msimangu and Jarvis will remain a long time with readers of this book. Its wisdom and perception are expressed in a style that comes naturally from these characters and their region. It falls freshly on American ears. It is highly communicative and it is eloquent. As literature, as social protest, as spiritual journey, *Cry, The Beloved Country* is a book for more than one reading.

—EDMUND FULLER

The Spiritual Life

The Path of the Saint, Anonymous. Harper and Brothers, 1947. 240 pp. $2.50.

In a world being pressed toward disaster by its own past choices in favor of materialism and violence there is a desperate need for a complete revolution in values and ethics. Pacifists have too often been merely the advocates of a materialistic "Kingdom of God" and have too often fallen short of the law of Love to feel that they have no need for this revolution. Those who have felt their inadequacy and those who ought to feel it should read this attempt to point the way to that sanctity which holds to true values and lives the highest ethic and which is thus basic to any plan that hopes to save the world.

The first half of this anonymously written book is a presentation of the philosophy of the spiritual life as the author has found it in his studies of the teachings of the saints in all religions. Here it is maintained that "the purpose of human life is to use one's opportunities in this world of space and time so that one may attain to an experimental knowledge of that Kingdom of Reality which is spaceless and timeless." The person who is brought to this knowledge is lifted above the weaknesses and sinfulness of his egocentric self and so becomes a saint. Although the author relies heavily on Christian spirituality in this discussion, his presentation of the Perennial Philosophy is at many important points closer to the Hindu tradition than to the Western.

Several months ago FELLOWSHIP readers were stirred into considerable interest by an article by Felix Greene attacking the activist nature of the present FOR program and calling the FOR to concentrate on the spiritual life. A similar challenge is presented in the present book. It is argued that it is the saint and not the revolutionary or reformer who redeems society. For example, "the contemplative life that they exercise . . . does, and decidedly so, impregnate the Church Universal and is far

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1948 William Penn Lecture

by Bayard Rustin

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more preponderant with God than the busy prayers and ambitious attempts of a thousand vitamin-conscious reformers. In generating a dynamic love-force, a potent creative energy sprung from the heart of the universe, they are offering an imperceptible service to mankind."

It would be a mistake to make it appear that the writer holds *no* brief for action. He believes that it is a necessary part of the spiritual life to many who are temperamentally inclined toward it. He merely disclaims that outward action is the only or most important way of affecting society.

Having established his argument for the life of prayer the writer then proceeds in the second half of the book to give practical advice on how it can be lived, and here particularly he relies on Catholic spirituality. In this section are discussed the ascetic disciplines, the cultivation of the virtues and the nature and methods of interior prayer. No attempt is made to give precise, detailed rules of life, but, in the belief that all will follow somewhat different ways, there is a general discussion of the various problems with a few specific suggestions and illustrations. For those who already believe in the life of prayer here is a good introduction to its techniques.

—FRANCIS HALL

To Be Reviewed

Appointment on the Hill, by Dorothy Detzer. Henry Holt, April 5, 1948. 262 pages. $3.00.

The enthralling story of a pacifist lobbyist for peace during the twenty years between wars, by the recently retired national secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

author of *Color and Conscience* writes of this new book:

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